## NEW-YORK TRIBUNE.

THE NEW-YORK DAILY TRIBUNE IS PUBLISHED EVERY MORNING, SUNDAY EXCEPTED. EVERY MORNING, SUNDAY EACH TELL,

1180 NASSAU-ST. (OPPOSITE CITY RALL) SEW-TORK,

nd delivered to City Subsenders for Nine Cents per week,

or, when they prefer, they one pay in advance at the Dest

for its months or a year at the same rate. Single copies

Two Cents. Mail subsenders five Dollars per annum,

advance and the same an news continued beyond the

TRRES OF ADVERTISING: Res Lines, or iest-First Insertion. So cents.
For each subsequent insertion. 13%
Ten Lines and over tin-First insertion. 50
For each or osequent insertion. 55
For one week. 150
For one month. 50
Marriages, Funeral Notices, &c. not exceeding firs Feerly Advertisers—not to exceed 12 knes with pri-rilege of renewing advertisements at piesaure, (psymble quarterly, or half-rearly in advance.) 40 00

All Advertisements inserted in this paper appear both in the florning and in the givening editions. NEW-YORK WEEKLY THIBUNE, A VERY LARGE PAPER. FOR THE COUNTRY at the low price of TWO DOLLARS per annum, in advance

THE TRIBUNE

RIGHTS, DUTIES, AND RESPONSIBILITIES WORKINGMEN OF AMERICA:

AN ADDRESS Delitered before the American Institute, in the Broadens Tabernatis, City of New York, Oct. 18, 1841. BY HON, ALEXANDER H. H. STUART.

Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Institute : Mr. President, and General of the President of the American Indian President of the Preside alted their position in society, who would not feel honored by an invitation to address the enlightened audience which now surrounds me. And I imagine there is no one who would approach the task without some apprehension of a failure to perform it in a satisfactory manner. It will not then, I am sure. he a matter of surprise to any one, that in appear ing for the first time, in a scene so new to me, and is discharge of a duty so foreign from all my former habits and pursuits in life, I should feel oppressed by a painful sense of my incompetency t add any thing to the intrinsic interest of the occacon. There were considerations, however, of a peculiar character, which seemed to require that I should yield obedience to your wishes. I could not be ignorant of the fact that I was indebted for the invitation, more to my geographical position, than to any peculiar qualifications which I possessed, for the office you have been pleased to assign me .-I believed that a patriotic desire to extend the sphere of your usefulness, and to strengthen the relations of friendship between the North and the South, had induced you to select as your organ, a Southern man, who was known to feel a deep interest in the success of your noble Institution. Impressed with this belief, and cordially responding to these sentiments, I have not hesitated to leave my home beyond the Blue Mountains of Virginia, to join with you in the celebration of your 17th Anniversary-to extend to you, in behalf of the people of my native State, the right hand of fellowshipand to cheer you, in your onward career of usefulness and honor, by the assurance of the deep solici-tude which they feel in the cause of American In-

The occasion which has brought us together, is one offideep interest to every American. The subjects which it suggests for consideration, are of the most varied and comprehensive character. They address themselves to all classes of society, and to address themselves to air classes or society, and to every geographical division of our country. The purposes of your association are defined by your charter to be, "the encouragement of domestic industry in Agriculture, Commerce, Manufactures and the Arts." These objects are, to some extent, connected with all the practical interests and pur-suits of mankind. There is hardly a question in philosophy, mechanics or political economy which does not fall within the legitimate sphere of your duties. The only limitation to which the speaker duties. The only limitation to which the speaker is subject in the selection of his theme for the Answersary Address, is, that it shall be strictly American. The onme of your Institute bespeaks it national character. Although it derives its corporate existence from the State of New-York, and has its local nabination within her borders, all its pursues and decious are executably American. In poses and designs are essentially American. In soing as your organ, therefore, it will be my dety, so less than my pleasure, to exclude from my view arry sentiment which would be calculated to ex-tite sectional or party feelings, or to withdraw our ainds from the contemplation of the interests, the

minds from the contemplation of the interests, the happiness, and the glory of our whole country.

There are many things connected with these armusi assemblages of people from distant parts of our Union which must always commend them to the favor of reflecting and patriotic men. The mere fact of persons, who would otherwise be strangers, resulter forgether, and becoming personally acmeeting together, and becoming personally ac-quainted, generates sentiments of kindness, and re-moves many causes of prejudice. We are taught moves many causes of prejudice. We are taught to feel, that, though we may be separated by thousands of miles, we belong to the same Republic :-speak the same language,—live under the same General Laws,—and have the same interest in cher-

The exhibitions too, which we have witnessed during the last ten days, have been eminently cal-culated to inspire us with sentiments of national pide. We have had before us the most striking vidences of the extent and variety of the produc hous of our country, and of the genius and enterresults of our national industry presented to us in miniature, and the conviction is forced upon our minds, that under a wise system of Legislation, there is nothing within the reach of human ingenuily, to which American skill and enterprise may no

All the circumstances under which we have as membled, seem to prescribe that our thoughts upon the present occasion should be directed to some to pic connected with the productive industry of the Whe hour which is allotted to me, with some teeral remarks upon the rights, duties, and respon-sifices of the Workingmen of America.

The subject is one of vast magnitude and impor ould furnish the text for volumes, instead of a single discourse. I do not propose however to weary you with tedious details, but merely to pre-sent a few prominent reflections, which have occur-red to my mind, in the hope that I may be able to awaken a spirit of enquiry, and induce some one more competent to the task, to do justice to the

In attempting to form a correct estimate of the bights and duties of the industrial classes of the United States, it is necessary to examine the conon of similar orders in the various countries urope; to review their history, and to understand and political relations. This retrospect all prepare our minds for the enquiry, how far the The peculiar structure of their institutions.

When the rude nations of the north subdued the

when the rude nations of the north subdued the hymness of the Roman Empire, they were obliged to establish some form of government to preserve his conquests from revolt or external aggression. This necessity led to the adoption of the loudal patent, which is the basis of all the governments of Modern Europe. It would be foreign from the objects of this address to enter into a minute history of the rise and progress of this system, or a detailed unlysis of its principles. It will be sufficient for my present purpose to say, that however well or my present purpose to say, that however well daped it may have been to maintain the dominion of the half civilized conquerors, none could have the half civilized conquerors of the true principles of the true and hanning and hanning and hanning the same and hanning the principles of the true and the principles of the true principles o evised more destructive of the unity and happi-rity, or more fatal to the security and happi-fithe people. All its features were aristocrati-ed all its tendencies to the oppression and de-tion of the great masses of society. The ma-tion of the great masses of society. The maany of the people were serfs, and condemned to a ray of the people were serfs, and condemned to a ray of the people were serfs, and condemned to a ray of the series of villenage or absolute slavery. They were serfs to the lands on which they lived, and They could not the series of the lands on which they lived, and the series of the lands on which they lived, and the series of the lands of th Log were not permitted to appoint guardians for an address of the consent of the lord on whom they were dependent of the consent of the lord on whom they were described by an embodiment and extension of the principles of the lord on whom they were described by a microbid and extension of the principles of the lord on the lord is the municipal charters, and that the Barons of the principles of the stabilishment and extension of the principles of the stabilishment and extension of the principles of the municipal charters, and that the Barons of the cities, more than nair of policy intended to preserve the power of the charters, which, in an age when physical force.

Same, which, in an age when physical force as the municipal charters, and the times of the wealthy.

Country in the hands of the wealthy. substitute in the parties, tecause the total to the stably be deprived of the perquisites incident to the diamet. They were denied the privilege of bear family, which, in an age when physical force a the arbiter of right, was essential for the security before. The history of the Workingmen may indeed be called by the history of the Workingmen may indeed be the history of the Workingmen may indeed be accounted by the history of the Workingmen may indeed be called by the history of the Workingmen may indeed be called by the history of the Workingmen may indeed be called by the history of t

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## NEW-YORK DAILY TRIBUN

BY GREELEY & McELRATH. OFFICE NO. 160 NASSAU-STREET.

NEW-YORK, SATURDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 19, 1844.

held in contempt except that of arms: and if any merchant or manufacturer rose by industry and frugality to a degree of opulence, he found himself but I have thus briefly glanced at the important influence.

VOL. IV. NO. 167.

principle of rational freedom.

The first step in the great march of civil liberty, was made by those oppressed and despised villages and towns, inhabited by humble and dependent merand towns, inhabited by humble and dependent merchants and mechanics. The very circumstance of
being congregated together, seems to have excited
amongst them a community of feeling and thought,
and to have inspired them with something like confidence in themselves. Mind dame in contact with
mind. A sense of common sufferings and dangers,
at an early day, banded the citizens rogether. And
at length, driven to desperation by the intolerable
oppression and tyranny of the nobles, they determined, and rathed their firm resolves by solemn
ouths, to stand by each other, for mutual protection
and defence. Union gave them strength. And by ouths, to stand by each other, for mutual protection and defence. Union gave them strength. And by degrees the results of that great principle of association, which is so well understood in modern times, and which is the instrument by which so many revolutions, moral and political, have been effected, began to develop themselves. Those who, when acting seperately, had been powerless to resist oppression, when bound together by the ties of a common interest, and animated by a common spirit of opposition, became the most formidable enemies of various. A sense of security and strength was tyranny. A sense of security and strength was soon followed by impatience of the yoke, and a de-sire to establish for themselves and their posterity such a free and equal government as would afford adequate protection to the rights of person and

property.
The teeble sway of the German Emperors in Italy, encouraged the cities of that country to make the first attempts to exercise the rights of freeman, and to form themselves into bodies politic and corporate, under the government of laws established by the common consent of the citizens. At first, many of the privileges assumed by the towns were exercised in opposition to the power of the lords and the crown, and were but successful usurpations, or encroachments upon the sovereign and baronial pre-rogatives. But in process of time, they were recognized by the supreme authority, sometimes from ne cessity—at others from the policy of the sovereign as in the case of Louis the XIth of France, and no unfrequently, for pecuniary equivalents paid by the cit zens. The rights thus conferred were carefully defined in written instruments which were denominated charters. Those of early date granted comparatively small immunities, but it was not long before most of the towns were invested with the character of bodies corporate and politic, and secur-ed in the enjoyment of many important franchises

and privileges.

The example of the Italian towns was soon fol-The example of the Italian towns was soon fol-lowed by those of France and Germany, and from those countries the system of municipal corpora-tions was introduced into England. The wars of the crusades also contributed to extend and strength-en the towns throughout Europe. The necessities of the Kings and barons compelled them to yield privileges to the citizens in exchange for the means necessary to support their foreign expeditions. And the employment of the military force in a distant scene of operations, tended, in a still greater degree, to impure the strength of the nobles, and to invorthe designs of the cities, and but a few years elapsed before most of the principal boroughs of France and England had either extorted by force, or purchased with money, charters embracing many of the most essential elements of freedom.

The results of these culargements of popular privilege were soon visible. The security given to The results of these culargements of popular privilege were soon visible. The security given to the rights of person and property, and the facilities afforded to commerce and the arts, acted as powerful stimulants to industry. Agriculture and the mechanic arts began to flourish. Manufactures spring into existence, bringing wealth and retinement in their years. The relative importance of the towns and ciries was increased. They became be tall and independent communities, governed by laws of their own enactment, and administered by magistrates of their own selection. They were authorised to hold common property, and to use a common ed to hold common property, and to use a common seal, as the symbol of their incorporation, and all the ignominious badges of servitude were abolished.

These privileges, thus acquired, originally by the towns, were gradually extended to the country, and the husbandman, secure of reaping the barvest he had sown, became the farmer, and in many in-stances the proprietor, of the fields in which he had

stances the proposed; formerly toiled as a degraded serf. Other consequences of a different, but not less important character soon followed. The humble important character soon followed. The humble weal by and influential burghers and citizens of fre corporations, began to aspire to political power and distinction. Owning a large portion of the property of the country, and contributing liberally to the sup-port of the Government, they insisted on their right a share in its administration. This claim, su ined no less by its intrinsic justice than by the for midable power of those who asserted it, could no be resisted; and a new element was introduced into the political constitutions of Europe. The Commons, or in other words the Propre, successfully maintained their right to unite, by agents of the own selection, with the Sovereign and the Nobles in giving direction to the affairs of state. And this concession being made, the principle of popular representation, which is the great corner stone of free institutions, became tirmly imbedded in the

structure of European society.

From this brief historical review, I think we can clearly deduce a practical conclusion which I as sure will not be without interest to the members of the American Institute. I allude to the very imof the toens and cities, the men devoted to commerce and manufactures, for the first principles of free

And here let me not be understood as intending any thing to the disparagement of the Agricultural part of the community. All I mean to say, is, that the pioneers in the cause of freedom were the merchants and mechanics. The agricultural classes were too much dispersed through the country to be able to move with that unity of purpose, and concentrated energy of conduct, which marked the action of the towns. Hence they were not so well qualified to lead the way in the glorious struggle for liberty.

the towns. Hence they were not so well qualified to lead the way in the glorious struggle for liberty, but from the mement the coatest was began, they have always been found side by side with their brethren, doing battle for the sacred cause. The municipal charters of Europe contain the first germs of Constitutional freedom. They are the hands of a lew. But when leading his propers of the country, because the laboring men are always the majority.

The careful coasideration of this general principle, and of its application to the political establishmany of the differences that exist between them. In Europe the accumulations of the propers and themselves to the favor of the aristocracy, than to disclose the truth. But a slight examination will disclose the truth. But a slight examination will disclose the truth. But a slight examination of the country, because the laboring men are always the majority.

The careful coasideration of this general principle, and of its application to the political establishmany of the differences that exist between them. In Europe the accumulations of the country, because the laboring many of the differences that exist between them. In Europe the accumulations of indu the Lombard cities, and received a new imputes in its expectages to the lands on which they need, and the Lombard cities, and received a new imputes in its expectages. They manufacted without the concurrent action of an amount of the sovereign. They immediate lord, and of the sovereign lord in the Lombard cities, and received a new immediate lord, and the sovereign lord in the Lombard cities, and received a new immediate lord. Under such a state of society, as might be expectaged as worthy of but small consideration. Laborate lord, and of the sovereign lord in the lowest lord and state of society, as might be expectaged in the lowest lord and state of society, as might be expectaged in the lowest lord and state of society, as might be expectaged in the lowest lord and state of society, as cities and burghs their ancient liberties, immunities our is depressed below its legitimate level, and

world the first model of a written Constitution!

And here it may not be without instruction to noAnd here it may not be without instruction to noAnd here it may not be without instruction to notice the very striking fact, that those institutions
tice the very striking fact, that those institutions
tice the very striking fact, that those institutions
ealled Corporations, which are the subject of so
much vulgar projects, and which have been demuch vulgar projects. be occupations, which are now regarded as most bosorable amonget men, were thought better the dignity of a gentleman. In the language the first end which historian, "Every profession was "flust English historian," Every profession was

gality to a degree of opulence, he found himself but the more exposed from the envy and avidity of the military nobles."

The cocdition of the inhabitants of the towns and cities was but little, if at all, more tolerable. The towns were situated either upon the lands of the sovereign, or of some of the great Barons, and were subject almost entirely to the will of their master. The languishing condition of commerce and manufactures made them poor, and the political institutions were calculated to render that poverity perpetual.

I have thus briefity glanced at the important influence which the Workingmen of Europe have exercised upon her social and political systems. The next step in the progress of the inquiry which I have thus briefity glanced at the important influence which the Workingmen of Europe have exercised upon her social and political systems. The next step in the progress of the inquiry which I have thus briefity glanced at the important influence which the Workingmen of Europe have exercised upon her social and political systems. The next step in the progress of the inquiry which I have maked out for myself is, to show the position they now occupy in the Old World, to contrast it with the condition of the Workingmen of Americas,—to trace the cause of the difference; and to consider the condition of the Workingmen of Europe have exercised upon her social and political systems. The next step in the progress of the inquiry which I have thus briefly glanced at the important influence which the Workingmen of Europe have exercised upon her social and political systems. The next step in the progress of the inquiry which I have thus briefly glanced at the important influence which the Workingmen of Europe have exercised upon her social and political systems. The next step in the progress of the inquiry which I have the which the Workingmen of Europe have exercised upon her social and political systems. The next step in the progress of the workingmen of Europe have exercised upon her social and political sy

Such was the social and political condition of Europe during the 11th and 12th centuries;—a condition of abject servicude, unredeemed by a single though much has been one, sin more remains and accomplished. They have been compelled to encounter the united power of the Crown, the Nobles, and the Church. Every privilege has been wrested from the iron grasp of Despoism. It should not therefore he a matter of surprise that they have not been able to achieve all that might be desired, and that they are still in a condition of comparative dependence and servingle.

I am aware that this is strong language to be used I am aware that this is strong language to be used in regard to the most refined Nations of Europe. But let any impartial man examine the rates of wages in England and on the Continent, which do not average a shilling a day, and scan the official evidence in regard to the condition of the laboring classes in some of the most populous districts of England, taken under the authority of the Entitle Parliament, and he will have resimpledly evidence of the truth of what will have melancholy evidence of the truth of what I have said; or let him take up their statute-books, and examine the provisions of the various factory bills, and he will find in the fact that such legislation was necessary, the strongest proof of the wretch-ed state of a large portion of the laboring population of that proud Empire.

Who can turn from the contemplation of such a

picture, and view the condition of the Workingmen of America, without feelings of deep and heartfelt satisfaction? Here we see no class of our popula-ion subsisting on wages of sixpence or a shilling a day. Here we have no necessity for factory bills or a system of Legislative Police to guard the operative against the exactions of his employer. Here a comtency is within the reach of every man who is dispetuncy is within the reach of every man who is dis-posed to exercise ordinary industry and frugality; and the laboring portion of the community is pros-perous and happy. And if any one were disposed to question the correctness of this statement. I think I might venture with some degree of confidence to appeal to you, the representatives of the Working-men of America, here assembled, to bear me out in the assertion.

This striking contrast in the condition of the productive classes in the old and new world is the result of a variety of causes. The fact that our country is comperatively in its infancy, and that we possess a Territory of almost unlimited extent, and inexhaustible fertility, contributes greatly to mark the disperity to which I have adverted. But the differences in the political systems, and structure of society in Europe and America, have been no less efficient

All the Political Constitutions of Europe are but modifications of the Feudal System. Its rigors have been relaxed, and many of its abuses have been corrected, but still its most important princi-ples remain, as the basis on which the modern superstructures are erected. Society there is still divided, as it was in Feudal times, by horizontal tines, into classes as distinct as the geological strata of which the Earth is composed. By the rules of hereditary succession of titles with estates. and the laws of entail and primogeniture, the power and property of the country are secured in the hands of an Aristocracy, and the masses of the

hands of an Aristocracy, and the masses of the people are left in poverty and dependence.

In our happy country the condition of things is widely different. When our ancestors three off the yoke, and achieved our National Independence, they were left at liberty to frame their institutions eccording to those principles which they though best calculated to ensure the happiness of the people. There was no necessity for adapting them to any preëxisting form of government. Their purpose, was not to patch up an old mansion, but to construct s not to patch up an old mansion, but to construc was not to peten up an old manion, but to construct a new one. They were embarrassed by no system of fiels, or arbitrary classifications of society. They felt no restraints except those which reason and the essons of experience, disclosed by the pages of hissessons of experience, disclosed by the pages of ma-tory, imposed. The government was, therefore, ramed with reference to those great fundamental principles of political philosophy which must al-ways command the approbation of every enlightened

Let us now look for a moment at the opposite ten Let us now look for a moment at the opposite tendencies and results of the two systems. The two great subjects of all governments are persons and property; and the two great elements of every society are labor and capital. These subjects are intimately connected. Capital is the product of Industry—Labor is the agency by which capital is acquired. Capital gives employment to Labor, and Labor repays Capital, by its profits. They are natural allies, and mutually beneficial—Capital is the vivifying principle which gives activity and animation to Labor. Without Capital there can be no exercise, upon an extended scale, of the useful arts; nor can any public improvements of magnitude because alliebed. accomplished: —Without it, Assiculture must languish, and Foreign Commerce he discontinued. On the other hand, Labor is the instrument by which Capital achieves its wonderful results. They are inseparably associated, and he who wars against the one, necessarily assails the other.

It is no uncommon device with demagogues to the control of the contro

contend that there is a natural antagonism between labor and capital, and to endeavor to excite a feeling of enmity between the poor and the rich. But it must be obvious, from the considerations to which I have just adverted, that the sentiment is as desti-tute of truth, as those who utter it are of genuine patriotism. The poor man who wars against capital, wars against his wages. He seeks to strik down the hand that feeds him, and to destroy th down the hand that feeds him, and to destroy the very principle which stimulates and invigorates the

arm of industry.
These are the true and natural relations between

shor and capital, and such they will continue to be n every well regulated country. But it sometimes happens that by false legislation, But it sometimes happens that by these registron, or other disturbing causes, the equilibrium between them is destroyed, and they are placed in antagonist positions. This leads us to consider the consequences which are likely to ensue from such a state of things, and the mode of avoiding the evil.

It is the ascendency of the one or the other of these interests, which, in a great measure, determine the observer of all governments. And it is

nes the character of all governments. And it i the struggle for that ascendency which is the most fruitiul source of revolutions and civil wars -The violence of the convulsion will always be in proportion to the previous derangement of the ba ance between them. Whenever capital is the cor Whenever capital is the con troling power, the government, by whatever name i

supply the means of subsistence. Hereditary titles of mobility, the system of entails, the laws of primogeniture, the corn-laws, the church establishment, nd the large standing armies and navies, are all arts of a cunningly devised and successful system

peris of a cumingly devised and successful system of policy intended to preserve the power of the Country in the hands of the wealthy.

But in our Republic, from its comparative infancy, there has been but a small accumulation of capital. Labor is here the ruling power, and the consequences of this fundamental difference in the condition of the Country stand out is hold relief. They are in the Country stand out is bold relief. They are to the Country stand out in bold relief. They are to be seen in our organic and maintipal laws. Artificial distinctions and titles of nobility are abolished; the systems of entails and primogeniture are swept from our statute books; the church establish ment is leveled in the dust; the army and navy are barely sufficient for the defence of our frosters, and the statute of our organization principles are not our convenience. otection of our commerce; the representative principle is carried to the utmost practicable limit, and the Government is placed in the hands of the People.

much will be required. It think therefore we may safely assume that the superior powers and immunities which are enjoyed by the productive classes of the most solemn and weighty character. We have seen most altern most solemn and weighty character. We have seen that in Europe much the larger part of the people have no share in the administration of the government. Their only privilege is protection from violence, and their only driv is obedience to the constituted anihorities. They are, practically, but a part of the mechinery of the country, operated and government by the will of others. But in America the case is widely different. Here their position is that of sentient and responsible beings. They at and on the same platform with the highest in the lam — The destiny of the Country is in their hands. The sovereign power reades in them. The law is but the expression of their will, and its administrative officers their agents. All our institutions, social and political, are but the reflected images of their genius and character! How wast are the responsibilities in the lame and character! How vast are the responsibilities in the law is but they the first of the country is unthered to have due to the thest of the consideration connected with the one, as the other. There is another consideration connected with the one, as the other. There is another consideration connected with the one, as the other. There is another consideration connected with the one, as the other. There is another consideration connected with the one, as the other. The weight which shall strike down the profits subject of protection which lought to have subject of protection which they subject of protection which less subject of protection which they subject of protection which they and character! How vast are the responsibilities which spring from the exercise of these more than imperial prerogatives! How sacred the duty to guard, with more than vestal vigilance, the liberties But which have been transmitted to us by our illustrious

I proceed now to inquire their particles of the Government are affected by the facts we have been considering. Are the dotties of the People to be enlarged, and those of the Government to remain the same? I humbly think not. I hold that wherever a duty is imposed. on the People, there is a correlative right, on their on the People, there is a correlative right, on their part, to all the means necessary for its performance. And as our Government has required its citizens to exercise the most important functions in its Administrations, involving a high degree of virtue and intelligence, it is bound by the soundest considerations of justice and morality, to use all its Constitutional power to render the People virtuous contents. and intelligent, and to keep them up to the level of our institutions!

It would be out of place for me on this occasion

It would be out of place for me on this occasion to state, in detail, my views of the system of policy best calculated to effect these objects—I am now dealing with general principles. But there are two great measures which seem to occupy such a promint place in the list of the duties of the Government nent place in the list of the duties of the Government, and to be so indispensably necessary for the welfare of the People, that I cannot forbear from giving them a passing notice.—The first is adequate Protection to American Industry; and the second, a liberal system of popular Education.

There has been a period in the history of our Country when I should have been unwilling to discuss the question of Protection before a mixed as

sembly. But I am happy to say that day has passed by—I am now at liberty to approach the subject as one which belongs not to Party, but to the Country. one which belongs not to Party, but to the Country. It is now an American question, and, with the exception of a small part of the Southern division of the Union, it commands the apprehation and cordial support of the American People. In the eloquent tanguage of your Preeident, in opening the proceedings of the Institute, the principle of Protection to Domestic Industry is desired to be the centre of a great System, around which the Political Parties of great System, around which the Political Parties of the Country will continue to revolve, as long as our institutions shall last.

In the remarks which I propose to submit for

In the remarks which I propose to submit for your consideration on this topic, I do not intend to treat it as a mere measure of figures, or commercial regulation; but as a matter of popular right, and with reference to its bearings on the moral, in tellectual and political condition of the country.—These views of the subject, which, in my judgment, are far more important than all others, have been too much neglected by our public men. Indeed, a least the property of the pro isposition seems to have prevailed in our National councils, and elsewhere, to degrade it into a mere question of dollars and cents. It will be my aim. upon the present occasion, to direct your thoughts to some notiler and more comprehensive views of this great subject.

When I speak of the encouragement of Domestic

Industry, I use the words in their broadest signifi-cation. I do not confine myself to the adoption of that policy which will secure to labor an adequate pecuniary reward. That will do much, but still more is necessary. I mean by encouragement, that whole system of measures which is required to place labor upon its proper level, as one of the great elements of National wealth—to define its rights o maintain its dignity and respectability—and give to public opinion, a proper direction in regard to it. The means of accomplishing these ends, are as carious as the objects are important. Wise legisla-

various as the objects are important. tion may do much, but it cannot do all that is ne-cessary. Your noble Institute, and kindred associ-ations throughout the land, are desired to exert a as beneficiant influence on the public sentiment of the country. It is a great and glorious cause, and I am sure I need not admonish you to persevere in your efforts for its advancement. Labor is the pa-rent of wealth. Without the labor of cultivation, best gifts of Providence to man would be of con paratively little value. It is man's destiny. Whe Paradias, one part of the senience of banishment was, "in the sweat of thy face shall theu eat bread, was, in the sweat of thy lace shall find eat bread, till thou return unto the ground." That judgment, pronounced upon him and his posterity, remains in tall force to the present day. The structure of the frame, and the constitution of the mind of man, furnish the strongest evidence that he was formed for labor. And it is a singular proof of the wisdom and breachenge of the Dates aronay, but Notes. and individuals are prosperous and happy in propor-tion to their obedience to this first law of their naure. It seems to be a great compensating princi-ile, by which the apparent inequalities in the dis-ribution of temporal blessings may be properly ac-ulated. Toil brings with it health and cheerfulguintees. It imparts to the homble fare of the laboring man a flavor which the most sumptuous repast can never possess far the indotent votary of pleasure.— His rough couch is visited by light and refreshing

simbers, whilst the luxurous idler reclines upon nis bed of down, and vamly courts repose.

This principle is equally applicable to nations. In the tropical regions where the fraits of the earth of the country applicable to the carrier of the car spring up spontaneously, and supply the wants of man, without an effort on his part, elfeminacy and ar heapee of all the maply virtues are the almost invariable consequences: whilst in the less favored por-tions of the world, health, vigor, intelligence, cour-age, and all the nobler qualities of our nature, seem flourish as a part of the product of the labor re nired to supply man's necessities.

A still more striking illustration of this great truth

A star more striking that started the same count is found in the different condition of the same country at different periods of its history. Spain prents a remarkable example. Before the discover America, Spain ranked among the first powers of Europe. Her citizens were industrious and happy-her agriculture, manufactures and commerce we ner agriculture, manufactures and commerce were in a prosperous condition. In many respects she was in advance of most of the nations of Europe, in the greatmarch of civilization—America was discovered. The mines of Mexico and Peru poured their rich tributes into ber lap. Her people became filled with visions of inexhaustide wealth. The mistaken idea possibility is a proposed to the constitution of the aken idea prevailed that the precious metals were the substance, instead of the representatives of true wealth. The thirst of gold seized upon the nation industry was dispised. Agriculture and manufac-tures were neglected; and in the midst of a profu-sion of treasures Spain became impoverished—the foundations of her prosperity were supped. The sources of her strength were dried up. And she sunk to what she still continues, a subordinate power, although she possesses every advantage of geographical position, and soil and climate, which nature could bestow upon a nation.

Considerations like these teach us the nece of labor to individual and national happiness, and admonish us of our duty to foster and encourage it by all fair and honorable means. This duty is rendered particularly imperative in the United States by the peculiar character of our political institutions. Here we have no entailed estates, and no classes of society whose privilege it is to be idle—here every cutizen is, to a certain extent, a workingman. Labor is bonorable, and indolence is disgraceful. The rich and the poor are equally bound to work. It a pecuniary neces-sity de's not exist, there is a moral coercion which is equally potent. The man who is content to spend is equally potent. The man who is content to spend us days in ideness, it matters not how great his wealth may be, soon sinks into contempt. He is re-garded as a drote in society. He is denied the con-solutions of sympathy with those around him, and he drags out an existence which is butthersome to

nimeelf and his friends
The right to the Protection of American Industry,
in the aspect in which I am now considering it, resuits from the duty of the government to electric the The whole difference in the two systems may be condition of the laboring classes of society. It stands

legitimate influence, if the People are not taught to read, or, being taught, have no time to spare from their labor, to enlarge the circle of their informa-But there is another view of the question of pro-tection considered as a matter of popular right which should not be overlooked. It is the recog-

mized duty of every government, in consideration of the all-giance of the citizen, to afford protection to his person and property. This is a fundamental principle of every social organization. Our federal government can claim no exemption from this obtigation. Let us now follow this principle to its legi-timate practical results. There is no dispute as to the duty to protect the property of the citizen. That is a matter conceded on all hands. The only diffiis a matter conceded on all hands. The only olis-culty arises in regard to its application. The pro-perty of the capitalist consists of his lands, houses, chattels and choses in action. These are admitted subjects of protection. But the poor man owns few or none of the articles which I have enumerated.— His property consists principally of his labor—the product of his mind and muscles. That is his all-tic his only compacity for market. It is allit is his only commodity for market. It is all he can give in exchange for the necessaries of life.— Now I should like to know if he has not as good a right to have his property protected against foreign aggression, as the capitalist? For my part, I must acknowledge, I have not been able to discover any good ground for the distinction. Is it because it is of material or tangible in its character? You extend to inventive genius encouragement by letters patent, and you guard the rights of talent and learn patent, and you guard the rights of talent and learning, which are equally intangible, by a system of copy-rights; and why should you make a discrimination against the labor of the operative? It government takes to the value of a farthing, from the property of the capitalist, consisting of the accumulations of past industry, the law affords ample redress for the injury. And why should there not be a corresponding obligation to provide for the security of the laboring classes? Why should a system of legislation be adopted which is calculated to reduce the wages which are the price for which labor is sold? The system of free trade, as it is called, has this effect. It strikes at labor. It tends to enhance the value of capital by depressing the relative has this stiect. It strikes at labor. It tends to enhance the value of capital by depressing the relative value of labor. It deprives the working man of his fair reward, that the capitalist may buy his foreign luxuries at a cheaper price. Its heaviest blows full upon the mechanic. It brings foreign pauper labor into competition with American labor; and it tends to bring down the wages of American labor to the level of the wages of Europe. When that is accomplished, I hazard little in saying, that the day will not be far distant, when the citizens of the United States will stand on a level, in more respects ed States will stand on a level, in more respect than one, with the subjects of the despotic govern

ments of Europe.

I now pass from the question of right to that of expediency. As property and persons are the principal subjects of Government, those institutions are best which establish just and equal relations between hem, by affording protection to both, and at the them, by addrding protection to both, and at the same time providing against the undue ascendancy of either. This end is most nearly approximated in those countries where properly is generally diffused among the people, and the means of acquiring it are accessible to all. By enlarging the number of those who have a personal interest in the Country, you widen the basis of the Government, and give strength and artifulation to its institutions. That system of and stability to its institutions. That system of policy, therefore, is wisest, which tends to bind the greatest number of people to the Country, by enagreatest number of people to the Country, by ena-bing them to acquire a property in it. Local at-tachment is one of the largest elements of patriot-ism; and the surest way to cherish and lavigorate that sentiment, is, to encourage men to become own-ers of the soil, and to acquire fixed habitations of their own, to which they and their children will be bound by all these endearing associations and halhair that binds Man to the home of his childhood

This is one of the necessary results of a wise system of encouragement to Domestic Industry.

But if you bring down American Labor to the standard of Europe, how different are the conse scannard of Lurope, more unit of the man are condemned quences which must ensue. It men are condemned to toil through life for the bare means of subsistence; if they are to be substantially denied the privilege of acquiring property and of collecting their families around the domestic hearth and enjoying those tranaround the domestic hearth and enjoying those tran-quil pleasures which are to be met with only be-neath the shelter of their own roof tree, how can they be expected to cherish an ardent devotion t they be expected to theirs an arbeit decountry which thus rejects and discovers their They will feel that they are more sejaurners in the land, having no interest in it. They will float upon the surface of society at the mercy of the winds and waves. A spirit of diseffection will spring up. The bonds of allegiance will become relaxed, and they onds of allegiance will become relaxed, will be prepared for any change which may hold

will be prepared for any change which may hold out the prospect of improving their condition.

I cannot therefore arge with too much earnestness the necessity of shaping the legislation of our country with reference to those objects. Let the People be enabled to acquire a personal independence; let them, as was justly remarked by the distinguished gentleman who delivered the Address upon the first evening of your Fair, receive such wages "as it is proper for freemen to offer, and freemen to receive." Let them have the means of educating their children; let them be inspired with self-respect; let them be taught to know and to feel that espect; let them be taught to know and to feel that the interest of the country is their interest, and that their welfare will be best promoted by preserving law and order and the free institutions under which law and order and the free institutions under which they live. By so doing, you will create the surest defence against the assaults of violence and the institutions approaches of treason, in an enlightened, virtuous and happy class of working-men.

But it has been objected to the system which I propose, that it taxes capital for the benefit of labor. I do not intend to sup now to prove the un soundness of this proposition. But assuming it to

e true, in its broadest extent, how short-sighted the policy of the capitalist who would for the sake of acquiring the superfluities of life for a little low or price, be willing to degrade the moral, intellectu at and social condition of the workingmen of his al and social condition of the workingmen of his country! Has he no interest in common with the industrial classes! Does not every thing which elevates them in the scale of social life, enure to his benefit also! Does not every dollar expended to promote their happiners add to the security and value of his property! He should recollect that the workingmen are the great constituent body of the nation. The law-making and the law-administration power are in their tands. They, through retering power are in their hands. They, through re-presentatives of their selection, and amenable to their control, prescribe the rules by which the property of the country is to be governed. They de-termine the conditions of its tenure. They regulate the course of its descent and distribution. And they termine the containous of its faint that it is the course of its descent and distribution. And they ascertain the quentum of its burthens. Of what value then would property be,or what security would its owners have for retaining it, if the people should become ignorant or corrupt! How soon may it happen here, as it did in the early period of the French resolution, that the masses, rendered frantic repen nere, as it do in the early person of the French revelution, that the masses, rendered franticity oppression, may cash the institutions of society to atoms and scatter their fragments to the winds! In some of the Southern States, the objection to

the system of protection assumes another form, and we are told that it takes one part of the country for the benefit of another. I shall have occasion presently to examine the truth of this proposition; but conceding it for the present to be correct, I would respectfully enquire whether the people of the South and the West have no interest in the intelligence and virtue of the people of the North and the East! I now speak not of a commercial or pecuniary, but of a social and political interest. Do not the North, and the East, and the West, constitute important parts of our glorious confederacy? Are they nor perris of our giorious consecutary. Are not their representatives in Congress, to a certain extent, our representatives? Do not their acts affect us, and their laws govern us? Does not their

WHOLE NO. 1098. summed upin a single sentence. In Europe a small aumber of uspitalists rule the country—in America the working men, or the masses, govern it.

I propose next to enquire how far the facts which have just been reviewed, are calculated to affect the obligations of the government, and the rights and dries of the people of the United States. It is a truth of universal application, that enlarged capacities and privileges carry with them enlarged objugations and responsibilities. We learn from that sacred Volame, whose pages teach us not only the doctrines of our religion, but also the purest lessons of morality, that from those to whom much is given, much will be required. I think therefore we may safely assume that the superior powers and immurities which are enjoyed by the productive classes of the country. The propose next to enquire how far the facts which the population, and as the populate due to power of the country resides in the People, it follows as a necessary consequence that the government, and the rights and decision of the country resides in the People. It is not their navy our navy, and their follows as a necessary consequence that the government, and the rights and power of the country resides in the People. It is not their navy our navy, and their follows as a necessary consequence that the government, and the rights and power of the country resides in the People. It is not their navy our navy, and their follows as a necessary consequence that the government, and the right to populate due to power of the country resides in the People. It is not their navy our navy, and their follows as a necessary consequence that the government, and the right to populate due to power of the country resides in the People. It is not their navy our navy, and their actor 1 is not their navy our navy, and their actor 1 is not their navy our navy, and their actor 1 is not their navy our navy, and their follows as a necessary consequence that the powernment. It is not their navy our navy, and their follows as a necessary

FIVE DOLLARS A YEAR

There is another consideration connected with

But there is another aspect in which this subject should be presented to the Capitalist. If from the scanty earnings of the laboring men, you take away all but what is necessary to procure the means of subsistence, what becomes of the fax paying ability of the whole class? How are they to contribut their share of the expenses of the Government? They cannot do it; and as a necessary consequence the whole butthen of the public expenditure will fall upon the Capitaliats, together with the support of the superannuated, the inform and the incompetent of the operative classes. Thus the tax which Capital would seek to avoid in one form will be levied upon it in another and more onerous shape! How much better would it be to pay it in shape! How much better would it be to pay it poor-rates, and other public contributions, which are too often a bounty to idleness and vice exacted by ill-directed benevolence! How much better it to prevent suffering and distress, by silording on ployment to the poor, at a fair rate of compensa-tion, than to minister to their relief after they have

ocurred! I beg leave now to address a single remark t those of my audience who are engaged in Agricu ture. It is your business to till the soil, you rely upo its productions for your support, and the means of adding to your property. You raise for market Grain, Grass, Gattle, Hogs and Sheep, and many other articles. These are the things you wish to sell at the best price you can obtain for them. And what is true in regard to you individually, is equally true in regard to the whole acrucultural constructions are market annually a large aurolus of such prohas for market annually a large surplus of such pr has for market annually a large surplus of scan productions as I have enumerated. This being the case, what would you think if any one were to advice you, at the very moment you had on kand at over-supply of all these commodities, to go to a foreign country and buy more! Would you think such counsel founded in wisdom? I presume you would not. But let us see what you are doing, every day, under the operation of the anti-Protective system. By way of illustration, let us suppose that you buy, for your own consumption, in English cost or a ton of English from in the New-York market—what do you buy, and what do you pay for? what are the elements of which the prices of these articles are composed? In the one case the wool and in the other the one, is the raw material. But the value of these constitute but a small part of the price of the munufactured priicle. To get ut th cost you must estimate the value of the grass which sustained the sheep—the inhor and support of the shepherd whilst tending the flocks, the labor of the manufacturers in spinning, weaving, dying ar drossing the cloth, including the support of the families whilst they were employed in these various processes. To these you must add the interest of the capital employed, the profits of the manufaturer, and his rents, taxes, and poor rates, the cost transportation, the profits of the wholesale and retail merchant, and the other incidental charge which it is not necessary to enumerate. At integrating enter into the price. And so it is in regard to the Iron. There is the cost of the ore and of its conversion by various processes into boits and hars including the wages of workmen, the cost of the prowhich it is not necessary to enumerate. All the visions and clothing consumed by them and their amilies, and all other charges to which the manu facturer and merchant were subjected in bringing them into market, including their prefits on the

All these things are covered by the price paid fo the fabric. It is therefore manifest that when you gither of the foreign articles to which I have referred, you in effect buy British Grain and Grass and Beef and Park;—you pay for British Labor, san help to feed and clothe British papears, and to sup port the British Government, at the very time tha your own Crops are ratting in your bares, won own meedows are waving with Grass, and you own stalls are filled with Cattle for which you can offer upon this simple statement of facts, for th

ound of my voice! The same train of reasoning is equally applicable to the Laboling Men. Why should they wish to see their countrymen pay for Foreign Labor, when they are seeking employment themselves?

Thave proceeded thus far in any marsks upon the supposition that the Protective System taxes Capital for the benefit of Labor. But is that hypotheses tal for the benefit of Lator. But is call a properties so which by facts? Let us ron our eyes were the list of protected articles, and where will we fin one which has not been reduced in proce by it operation? I hazard but little is saying there are few, if any. Here is a fact worth a thousand theo ries. But it may be asked, how is Protection afford ed, if prices are not enhanced by it. The answer ed, if prices are not enhanced by it. The answer is an obvious one. The greatest enemy to American Labor is not Foreign Labor, but Foreign Capital And here let me call your attention to a distinction, which is too often overlooked, between cheap mages and cheap labor. Many persons confound the one with the other. But it may happer that wages may be form and yet laborate cheap, to wages are only one element in the value of labor. A striking illustration of this truth may be found it parts of our southern country, where no wages are paid to the slaves and yet their labor is more costly to their owners than that of the freemon of the their owners than that of the freemen of north. And when we calculate the entire cost British labor, including high rents, high prior provisions, high taxes and poor rates, and a sco of other indirect charges which, though not oste sibly, and really paid by the simployer, we also find that it is not a great deal chesper than Amer can labor. Indeed we have surbority of a distinguisi ed po itical economist for saying that, when a lithese incidental expenses are taken into consideration English laboris no cheaper than our own. The

English labor is no cheaper than our own. The great point of difference is this. In England, when the products of labor are sold, the capitalist respands the rich harvest of profit, and the laborer gets comparatively a small portion of the price.

The danger to our domestic industry is not, therefore, from the fair competition of foreign labor, but from the overwhelming influence of foreign capital. This enables the manufacturers of Europe to throw their surplus productions into our market at a price far below cost, not in the line of fair business, but with a view to glut the market and break down the with a view to glut the market and break down the with a view to glat the market and freeze down the domestic manufactories. In the absence of protective duties, the domestic manufacturers, who generally have but limited capital, are unable to withstand the competition; and when they fall in the contest, the foreigner obtains a monopoly, and soon avails himself of it o extort from us prices sufficient to pay, not only the cost of production; and a fair profit, but also the expense he has incurred in appropriate our own fortones. strengting our own factories.

But if we concede the correctness of the doctrin of the opponents of protection, the enquiry arises

will the means which they propose to adopt have the effect which they contemplate! or in other words, would they get rid of the principle of pro-tection by a repeal of all duties! By no means. Protection, in its proper sense, means any peculiar remunity, benefit, or advantage extended to the pro-ductions of one part of the country over those of another; the ground on which the objections to i rest, is its partial operation. Protection may be af-forded in various modes. It may be given by high duties which discourage importation, or by low du-ies which invite the introduction of favored articles. It may result from domestic legislation, or from for-eign legislation. Those who look at the operations of other Terif laws only, take but a limited and imperket view of the subject. Those peculiar advan-tages, which are the vital principle of protection, may be conferred as effectually by an act of the Brissh Periament, or by a measure of British commercial policy, as by our own demestic regulations. A high duty imposed on American grain, tobseco or manufactures, and a low duty on cotton, would be as complete a protection, in the cotton, would be as complete a protection, in the enlarged sense of the term, to the cotton grower, as if it were afforded by an act of Congress. Any dis-

ductions of one part of the country against those of other parts, must operate as a protection to that par-ticular interest. Sappose, for example, that Great Britain should provide by law that all goods im-ported into her dominions from any period the United States North of Mason's and Dixon's line abould be briain should be described by the distribution of Mason's and Dixon's line abould be States North of Mason's and Dixon's line abould be subject to a duty five times as great as if they had subject to a duty five times as great as if they had subject to a duty five times as great as if they had so that be a protection and encouragement to the sort that be a protection and encouragement to the sort that our tariff laws could afford? And is fact does not England make such a discrimination—not does not England make such a discrimination—not in terms, but in effect? She admins cotton at a dety which is merely nominal, not exceeding five per cent, whilst upon all other productions of American labor the average duty is about three hundred and thirty per cent. And as cotton cannot be cultivated to advantage North of the Potomac, the benefit of that low duty is necessarily confined to the Southern States. The effect therefore, of an essential modification or repeal of our Protective laws would be, not to destroy Protection, but to transfer the right of granting it from our own to foreign governments! To get rid of the principle, we must repeal, not only our commercial regulations, but those of all other countries with which we deal. The tendency of the policy of those who oppose the system of fostering American Industry is, to strip our own Government of the right to protect our own labor, and to vest it in a foreign government. Many however rest their objections on the ground of a want of constitutional power in the General Government. But disguise this objection as you easy, it must end in this remarkable proposition, that it is beyond the power of our National Government to regulate our own shairs, but it is perfectly consistent with the principles of our fundamental law for to regulate our own shairs, but it is perfectly consis-ent with the principles of our f. ndameatal law for ather nations to do it for us! Fe ore I dismiss this subject I cannot forbear from

ductions of one part of the country against those of

Fefore I dismiss this subject it cannot note a river occurring the peculiar position which my Southern prethern, who but a few years ago were prepared to utility the taws at the Union, occupy in regard to Protection. They profess to be influenced in their oposition to the Tariff Lows by the most elevated practiples of justice and patriotism. No feeling of setfishness finds a place in their bosoms. They look he unequal operation of the Protective policy he unequal operation of the Protective policy which offends their notions of justice. In all these professions they are, doubtless, success. But their conduct affords a most striking illustration of the affirmity of our nature, and of the influence which infinity of our nature, and of the influence which interest exerts over the judgment of mankind. At the very moment the politicians of South Carolina are denouncing the principle of Protection, they are themselves in the setual enjoyment of the most theral and perfect Protection which human Legistical could should. Their productions go into the British market almost free of duty, whilst those of wher parts of the Union are lossed with the most minous exactions. The only difference is, that they ferrive their Protection from British Legislation. remous exactions. The only district receive their Protection from British Legislation, whilst the Agricultural and Manufacturing States seek to obtain theirs from their own Government. And if you analyse their objections, and particularly he principle of the celebrated forty bale theory, you will find that their hostility to the Tariff arises entirely from the fear that Great British may with-

draw her congregance and Protection from the Cot-con interest, and they may thereby lose the peculiar immunities which they, at this time, enjoy!

There are some of the visws which I would de-sire to have impressed upon the people and the Gov-ernment of the United States in regard to their re-espread rights and duties—I have endeavered to show, and I trust not without some degree of success,

shew, and I rust not without some degree of success, but Protection to American Industry is a primary buty of the Government, and a clear and positive right of the People, arising from the peculiar character of our institutions, and sustained by the sound-set considerations of policy and justice.

I pass now to another obligation of the Government which is of a kindled character. I allude to an enlarged system of popular education. This obligation also springs from the popular character of our institutions, and may be termed the twin-sister of Protection. of Protection.

of Protection.

And here I would wish to be distinctly understood. By education I do not mean merely instruction in the arts of reading and writing, but that whole
system of moral, intellectual, and religious training
and cultivation which is necessary to develope the
cobler faculties of our nature, and give to the char-

cobler faculties of our nature, and give to the character of man, the impress and likeness of Him in whose image he was created.

In Europe popular education is, in a political point of view, of comparatively little importance. The great mass of the people have few political privileges. They exert no influence on public opinion. They give no impress to national character. Indeed it may well be doubted, whether an ignorant people do not make the most loval and obedient subjects. o not make the most loyal and obedient subj But in America the case is reversed. Our insti-utions rest upon the virtue and intelligence of the ocople. The wise administration of our govern-ment requires the constant exercise of both these qualities, not only by the magistracy, but by the constituent body. The only hope of prescrying our freedom is by diffusing knowledge and sound our freedom is by diffusing knowledge and sound principles amongst the people, and by keeping them, as I before remarked, up to the level of our institutions, and of their duties under them. If this cannot be done, the Government usuat sink to their level. Let the people become ignorant and debased, and the laws must be adapted to their capacity, and the Constitution brought down to their standard of merality and intelligence. Public sentiment will become viliated, and a spirit of licentiousness and disorganization pervade the whole body of society. It requires no spirit of prophecy to foretell the consequences of such a state of things. If the foundation of our political edifice becomes rotten the sution of our political edifice becomes rotten the su-perstructure must inevitably fall. Disguise the fact is we may, under declarations of rights, constitu-tional girantees, legislative senctions, and parch-ment muniments of title, it is nevertheless true, that in all popular Governments, the only security for tife, liberty and property, is in an enlightened pub-tic opinion. Our lives, our fortunes and our freelom, are all held by that tenure. The law is but an embodiment of public sentiment. If our rights are infringed, the mode and measure of redress must be ascertained by the opinions of judicial tribunals, which consist of the agents of the people, or the people themselves. If the title to our property be questioned, or our characters defamed, or our lives or liberty put in peoparty, by a criminal accusation, he shield of our defence is in the concurrent opinion and verdict of twelve hoarst and enlightened workingmen. Let the character of those whose coles is the law—whose agence are its judicial argounders—and who are themselves, in the jury box, fom, are all held by that tenure. The law is counders-and who are themselves, in the jury box,

in administrators, be debased by ignorance of vice, and what becomes of this bulwark of our defence in and what becomes of this british to duri density at the hour of danger?

If my time permitted, it would be easy to show hat the danger to Liberty, from the encroachments of Executive power upon popular privilege, is dways in proportion to the decline in the staneard of virtue and intelligence. The pages of history abound with admonstrons on this subject, which are to less frequent than impressive. An ignorant populace has always been the instrument by which am bitton and Treason have seconglished their unsallowed purposes. And if, in the progress of events, the day shell ever arrive in which send at the day shell ever arrive in which send affects a throne upon the ruins of the Constitution of this country, his pathway to power will be strewed with me fragments of the school-houses, the pulpits, and the fragments of the school-houses, the pulpits, and the printing presses, which now sow the seeds of virine and knowledge broad-cast through the land! I say, then, to the People and the Government of the United States, let the work of Education go en; let the Schoolmoster be sent abroad; let Primary Schools, and Academes, and Colleges, apring up in all pars of our Confederacy, until the whole Conti-cent shull be dotted over with them, as the Heavens are bespangled with stars!

Let this system of policy be adopted, and those primary duties of the Government be faithfully per-

ormary duties of the Government be minimum year ormed, and who shall nesign a limit to the onward marsh of this giant Nation! She is already the wonder of the world—Towns, Cities, States, spring wonder of the world—Towns, Cities, States, spring wonder of the world—Towns, Cities, States, spring up within her borders as if by magin! The circles of her prosperity and greatness are continually becoming wider and wider, and in less than half a century she has added five fold to her population, and doubled the number of republics which repose in security beneath her fig.

But in is not in these respects only that we wisness her advance in the fulfilment of her destiny. Her institutions have made the pathway to honorable distinction, as broad and as

way to honorable distinction, as broad and as straight from the door of the humblest cottage, as from the proudest mansion in the land. Genius and industry, and energy, find no barriers to arrest their career. The aboltion of arbitrary distinctions and classes of society, has given all mea an equal. start in the race of preferment, and brought sands of eager competitors into the field, who bler faculties would otherwise have remained for ever undeveloped. The whole talent of the country is thus forced into action, and the results are visible n every vocation of life. They are to be seen alike in the tairs of the American Institute, and in the Council-chamiers of the Nation. How often do we see men who in early youth guided the plow, or wielded the hammer or the axe, in maturer ago giving direction to the policy of their country? Con-suit the pages of our history, or go into the Capital of the Union, and enquire how many of those whe sit in the high places of the iand, and shed lustre on the Republic, at one time mene the anvil, or the lap-stone ring with their vigorous blows, or plied the busy needle, or with their own brawny arms, broughs into action that most potent of all human agents the printing press!

But there is an illustration of my proposition,

Bot there is an illustration of my proposition, which addresses itself to you in a still more stricenessic king manner. Visit the exhibition rooms of the merican into an intermediate of the general stricts of the general stricts of the general and industry of our received of the general and industry of our received.

THE STAN DEPOSITE AND ADDRESS.

on using the rate at oreasonal in Montinear Grandstee's product any sound a owition was executed. This is the house at Calain. His mother kept it when Hogardin